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East Zoners Appraise the Adenauer and GDR Moscow Agreements

Report No. 220 November 2, 1955

RESEARCH STAFF
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
AMERICAN EMBASSY

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

The present study was done at the request of the Eastern Affairs Division, U. S. Mission, Berlin.

The occasion of the Berlin Trade Fair (September 24 through October 9, 1955) afforded one of the rare opportunities to ascertain opinions from East Zone Germans on current issues facing Germany. Coming as it did shortly after a survey among the West German population on their reactions to the agreements Adenauer reached with the Russians in Moscow, and after Ulbricht and Grotewohl's trip to Moscow (which resulted in a State Treaty for the East Zone Government), the opportunity was particularly ripe.

To accomplish this survey, two samples of East Germans were used. One was a sample of 201 East German visitors to the Berlin Trade Fair, 18 years of age and over, taken from among the East Zone visitors in the same proportion as is found among the various Laender of the East Zone. The other sample consisted of 200 former East Germans now refugees in the various camps in West Berlin. These two groups were necessary in order to have a comparison between those East Germans who had fled, and those who were still living in the East Zone and putting up with conditions there.

To afford a further comparison, as many of the questions asked of the West Germans as was possible were included in the questionnaire asked of the East Germans. These results have been included in the report wherever applicable.

Interviewing was conducted under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Research Staff.

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S U M M A R Y

East Zone visitors are well informed concerning the Adenauer, and Ulbricht and Grotewohl, trips to Moscow. They show considerable support for Adenauer and the agreements which he concluded - even more so than was found among the West German population.

In answers to several questions, they show that there is little support for the East Zone regime, and that they particularly would like the West German Government to insist on only negotiating with freely elected representatives from East Germany over reunification.

As was found among the West German population, the overwhelming majority would refuse to accept reunification at the price of giving up the Oder-Neisse Territories.

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Part I - Extent of Knowledge

ALL EAST ZONE VISITORS KNEW OF ADENAUER MOSCOW TRIP

During September when a survey of West Germany on the subject of the Adenauer Moscow agreements was made, it was found that a surprisingly large percentage of the population knew of the trip (94%). But here in the present survey conducted among East Zone visitors to the Berlin Trade Fair, almost every single individual was informed. Among the East Zone refugee sample, the percentage knowing of the event is the same as was found earlier for the West German sample.

"Do you know if West German Chancellor Adenauer visited Moscow at the invitation of the Russians?"

	West German General Population+	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees
	Sept 1955 (797)	Sept/Oct 1955 (201)	Oct 1955 (200)
Yes	94%	100%	96%
No	6	*	4
	100%	100%	100%

ALMOST ALL VISITORS, BUT ONLY TWO-THIRDS OF REFUGEES KNEW OF GDR-MOSCOW NEGOTIATIONS

The East Zone visitors were almost as well informed about the visit that Ulbricht and Grotewohl made to Moscow following on the heels of Adenauer's visit (95% knew). Refugees from the East, on the other hand were not anywhere near as well informed. Only two-thirds (68%) of them were aware of the subsequent East Zone officials' journey. Now that they are actually in West Berlin and facing a whole new series of problems in their attempts to integrate into the West German society, this level of knowledge is perhaps not surprising. It would be interesting to be able to compare their knowledge with that among West Berliners, but the data do not exist.

"Do you know whether the DDR-Government, represented by Ulbricht and Grotewohl, recently carried on negotiations in Moscow?"

	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees
Yes	95%	68%
No	5	32
	100%	100%

+ Question was worded "Do you know whether a leading German statesman has recently visited Moscow at the invitation of the Russians? Who was it?" The percentage under "Yes" represents those who correctly named Adenauer.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

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THREE-QUARTERS OF THOSE AWARE OF GDR-MOSCOW STATE TREATY DISAPPROVE OF IT

Three-quarters of the East Zone visitors (77%) and of the East Zone refugees (74%), who knew about the negotiations carried on by Ulbricht and Grotewohl in Moscow, disapprove of the resulting State Treaty. Considerably fewer than ten out of 100 would approve.

"From what you know about it, do you approve of the State Treaty, or don't you?" (Asked of those knowing of negotiations)

	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees
Approve	7%	1%
Don't approve	77	74
No opinion	16	25
	100%	100%

REASONS FOR DISAPPROVAL - MAKES REUNIFICATION MORE DIFFICULT NOW
- EAST ZONE GOVERNMENT NOT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE
- EAST GERMANY NOW MORE ISOLATED FROM THE WEST

"For what reasons don't you approve of the State Treaty?"

	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair (201)	East Zone Refugees Oct 1955 (200)
Because it renders reunification more difficult	20%	7%

"What annoyed me most was that, by this treaty, Russia obviously recognized two German states. This means that, in all probability, reunification will be delayed still longer."

"Because this treaty ruins the West German Federal Government's plans for reunification."

"In my opinion the gap was widened by this treaty because now the East Zone Government will presume on its so-called sovereignty, and then the West German Government may be forced to negotiate with Grotewohl and his like if it wants to achieve reunification at all."

"The gap between DDR and Federal Republic has been widened. The Russians regard the existence of two German states as an established fact."

"I don't give a damn for their State Treaty, but the worst part is that now both parts of Germany are sovereign states so that the division will last still longer."

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	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees Oct 1955
Because the East Zone Government was not elected by the people and does not represent us	14%	12%

"Because the East Zone Government can't act as the spokesman for the people."
"Because those guys in our government weren't elected by the people."
"In my opinion the DDR Government is in no position to make decisions and sign this 'State Treaty" in the name of the DDR because neither I nor any of the others elected them."
"Because the government isn't backed by anybody and in the treaty it's taken for granted that the DDR Government represents 99% of the people in the East Zone. That's nonsence, of course, because the 17th of June (uprising) showed clearly enough who's in favor of the government and who isn't."
"We don't have a government that represents the will of the people. It was forced on us and didn't come into office through free elections."

Because an army is to be established	14	12

"Now it's an established fact that under Russian pressure we'll be drafted for military service. That's what this State Treaty has brought us. It's only natural that we young men who are subject to conscription are against it."
"First they say that they want to disarm and now it's written in the State Treaty that they want to establish an army. It's all rubbish!"
"For my parents' sake I wanted to stick it out in the East Zone. Now there's nothing left for me but to run away before I'll be drafted; I know that the going will be pretty rough - but that would be the last thing to put up with to be trained to shoot at my male relatives in the West."
"Having four sons the State Treaty is a terrible blow for us. We don't know what to do and I can foresee that we'll have to send them to West Germany, then our family life will be ruined; this fate of ours will be shared by many families here in the Zone - it's downright terror!"
"Now we have to establish an army which is to shoot at other Germans in the West."

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	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees Oct 1955
Because it means East Germany's isolation from the West and its complete Bolshevization	14%	4%
"Because the gap between the Zone and the West will be widened by the political and commercial treaties Russia concluded with the DDR."		
"They're going over our heads - this is the last step towards the integration of East Germany into the satellite states of the Kremlin; being a German, one might well despair."		
"Ulbricht is selling us to the Russians and we may expect that our children will soon understand Russian better than German."		
"That means that Pankov has sold us to the Russians and that we'll turn more and more towards the East. Through military service our young men will be made to regard their Western brothers as enemies and this might have very serious consequences, civil war, etc."		
Because the State Treaty does not alter existing conditions	8	9
"This treaty is not important as far as I'm concerned. It doesn't change our situation. The Russians have ruled over us for years and they will continue doing so, that is, through their servants Ulbricht, Grotewohl and Co."		
"Because it didn't effect any change at all. Everything will remain as it is."		
"In my opinion the treaty has no purpose. It just confirms the present situation."		
Because this 'State Treaty' was dictated by the Russians	8	7
"What do you mean by treaty? The Russians can do with the DDR as they like. This so-called sovereignty is nothing but a fraud."		
"All so-called treaties between the DDR and Russia are nothing but Russian orders and are mostly made up for the benefit of the Russians."		
"The Government has to take orders from Moscow, they just do what they are told."		

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(Cont'd from preceding page)	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees Oct 1955
Because it strengthens the East Zone Government and backs up the dictatorial methods of the regime	8%	4%
"Because this treaty strengthened the position of the DDR Government even more. Now they can make their own decisions even in such cases in which, up till now, they were dependent on the Russians." "Now the DDR is a sovereign state and expects to be recognized by the Western nations. That's what the Russians want. I only hope that the West won't be taken in by it." "It means that, for some time to come, all hopes of getting rid of this government must be abandoned."		
Because I am against the East on principle and distrust its policy	6	6
"How can one agree to something that was done by the Communists? Of course I am against it." "I don't know what it contains, but I am against everything those in the East do." "Because I regard all that as false. I strongly sympathize with the West and I judge all things by the Western point of view."		
Because Russian troops will remain in Germany	3	-
"Ulbricht doesn't want the Russian occupation troops to withdraw as long as there is no peace treaty. He wants to keep them to 'guard the peace', although Krushchev offered to withdraw the troops - that's infamous!" "Ulbricht wants the Russians to stay here - maybe he needs them as a bodyguard!"		
Other answers	7	5
"Because economic relations between the Zone and Russia are not profitable for us, but they are laid down in the State Treaty." "Because in the treaty the Oder-Neisse line is recognized as the final border." "Because it's directed against the Paris agreements, therefore I am opposed to it."		
No opinion/No answer	2	1
	104%@	67%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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REASONS FOR APPROVAL - CONTRIBUTES TOWARD REUNIFICATION
- EAST ZONE NOW SOVEREIGN

"For what reasons do you approve of the State Treaty?"

	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees Oct 1955
Because it contributes toward reunification	2%	*
"Because there is no other way to achieve reunification. I'm against the DDR-regime, but it couldn't but accept this treaty in order to finally solve the reunification problem."		
"Because the DDR-Government can now act independently, the reunification problem can be considered an internal affair to be settled by the Germans themselves, provided the West agrees to it."		
"The Western Powers and Bonn may now be willing to enter into contact with our government in order to bring about reunification."		
Because it granted us sovereignty, strengthened our position in relation to the West, and increased our prestige	2	1
"The DDR has obtained its sovereignty through this treaty. That is the only good thing in this State Treaty."		
"Because this treaty is meant to counter-balance the Paris Accords. Though we stab West Germany in the back through such a treaty, we have to protect ourselves. As long as we aren't united, our own interests come first."		
"Because the East Zone Government can't afford a loss of prestige. You have treaties with the West, consequently we have to tie ourselves to the East."		
Other answers	2	*
"This treaty was signed in order to bring about peace, and I'm for peace."		
"This State Treaty insures the withdrawal of the occupation troops, and that means free elections. That is not at all bad for us."		
"I think that this treaty is good for us, I can't tell you why, it's simply my opinion."		
No opinion/No answer	1 7%	- 1%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Part II - Reactions to Specific Issues

Section 1 - Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between West Germany and Russia

EAST ZONERS EVEN MORE FAVORABLE THAN WEST TOWARDS EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS BETWEEN WEST GERMANY AND RUSSIA

Whereas some seven-tenths (72%) of West Germany had thought that the Bundestag should approve of the exchange of ambassadors between the Federal Republic and Moscow, approval among those from the East is from eight to nine-tenths--82% among the refugees, and 91% among the East Zone visitors to the Trade Fair. Adenauer's move, therefore, can be seen to have had the firm support of the entire German people.

> "As you probably know, an agreement has been reached in Moscow providing for the exchange of ambassadors between the governments of Russia and West Germany and for the repatriation of German prisoners still retained in Russia.
>
> Should in your opinion the Bundestag - which has to vote on this issue - approve of an exchange of ambassadors between West Germany and Russia, or shouldn't it?"

	West German General Population	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees
	Sept 1955 (797)	Sept/Oct 1955 (201)	Oct 1955 (200)
Yes, should approve	72%	91%	82%
No, shouldn't approve	2	7	8
No opinion	26	2	10
	100%	100%	100%

Section 2 - Release of Prisoners of War

EASTERNERS SUSPECT RUSSIAN HONESTY ON POW RELEASE

While the West German population was inclined to give the Russians the benefit of the doubt as to whether they would really release all the German prisoners that they held, the East Germans (particularly the refugees) are more suspicious. Half (50%) of the East Zone visitors, but two-thirds of the refugees (67%) thought that it was not likely that the Russians would really release all German prisoners still in Russia.

"Do you think the Russians will really release all German prisoners still retained in Russia now, or don't you think so?"

	West German General Population	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees
Yes, very likely	22%	16%	5%
Yes, somewhat likely	18	23	11
	40%	39%	16%
Only slightly likely	23	11	17
No, unlikely	19	20	30
No, don't believe it at all	10	30	37
	29%	50%	67%
No opinion	8	*	*
	100%	100%	100%

FEDERAL REPUBLIC GIVEN CREDIT FOR RELEASE OF PRISONERS

Despite the propaganda maneuvering of the Russian and GDR Governments to try to convince the Germans that it was the Communist East Zone Government which was concerned with and secured the release of the prisoners held in Russia, hardly anyone in either East Zone sample gave the GDR credit for effecting the prisoners' release. Fully 90% of the East Zone visitors, and 97% of the refugees said that the West German Federal Government's efforts had contributed more towards their release.

"Whose efforts have contributed more towards the impending release of the remaining German prisoners: The efforts of the West German Federal Government, or the efforts of the DDR?"

	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees
West German Federal Government	90%	97%
DDR	*	-
Both equal efforts	1	*
Neither/nor	7	1
No opinion	2	2
	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Section 3 - Reunification

EAST AS WELL AS WEST GERMANS BELIEVE ADENAUER TRIP MAY HAVE SLIGHTLY IMPROVED CHANCES FOR REUNIFICATION

East Zone visitors and refugees agree substantially with the opinion of the West German population that the chances for an early reunification of Germany as a result of Adenauer's trip to Moscow have essentially remained the same - or may have improved slightly. Roughly 85 out of 100 in all three samples gave one of these two possibilities as their answer.

"The Russian Government invited Chancellor Adenauer to come to Moscow in order to discuss common problems. Adenauer accepted this invitation and was in Moscow from September 8 to 14.

In your opinion, have the chances for an early reunification of Germany improved or worsened as a result of Adenauer's trip to Moscow?"

	West German General Population	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees
Very much improved	4%	4%	5%
Improved	38 (42%)	45 (49%)	39 (44%)
Remained unchanged	39	40	45
Worsened	3	8	6
Very much worsened	1	2	*
No opinion	15	1	5
	100%	100%	100%

EAST GERMANS EVEN MORE CONVINCED ADENAUER DID EVERYTHING POSSIBLE FOR REUNIFICATION

While three-quarters (75%) of the West German population felt that Adenauer had done his utmost for reunification at Moscow, close to nine out of ten East Germans thought so - 86% among the East Zone visitors, and 88% among the refugees.

"Do you have the impression that Chancellor Adenauer did everything he could do in Moscow to bring about a reunification under conditions acceptable to us, or do you think he could have done more?"

	West German General Population	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees
Did everything	75%	86%	88%
Could have done more	9	11	5
No opinion	16	3	7
	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

THREE-QUARTERS SEE WESTERN POWERS-RUSSIAN NEGOTIATIONS AS WAY TO ACHIEVE REUNIFICATION

Three-quarters (75%) of the refugees and more than that among the East Zone visitors to the Trade Fair (78%) believe that negotiations between the Western Powers and Russia rather than between the West German Government and the GDR is the way that reunification is more likely to be achieved.

"Which way, do you think, is reunification more likely to be achieved: Through negotiations between the West German Federal Government and the DDR, or through negotiations between the Western Powers and Russia?"

	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees
Through negotiations between West German Government & DDR	18%	20%
Through negotiations between Western Powers and Russia	78	75
No opinion	4	5
	100%	100%

NINE-TENTHS WANT FEDERAL REPUBLIC TO NEGOTIATE ONLY WITH FREELY ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE EAST ZONE TO EFFECT REUNIFICATION

A solid nine-tenths of the visitors and of the refugees want the Federal Republic of West Germany to insist on negotiating only with freely elected officials from the East Zone over reunification, rather than with the present regime, as the DDR State Treaty with Russia desires.

"The negotiations between the Government of the DDR and the Soviet Government which were held in Moscow ended on the 20th of September with the signing of a State Treaty.

Would you approve of the DDR-Government representing the people of the DDR in negotiations with the West German Federal Government about a reunification of Germany - as stipulated in the State Treaty -

or

should the West German Government insist that only freely elected representatives of the people of the DDR be permitted to negotiate about a reunification of Germany?"

	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees
Present Government of DDR	9%	11%
Freely elected representatives of the people	91	89
No opinion	*	*
	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

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OVERWHELMING MAJORITY WOULD STILL INSIST ON FREELY ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES EVEN IF IT MEANT NO REUNIFICATION

Those who would insist that the West German Government only deal with freely elected representatives of the East Zone on reunification, were then asked if they would still agree to this demand if it meant that reunification would then not come about for the present. The overwhelming majority (74% of the East Zone visitors and 66% of the refugees) indicated that they would still hold to that view.

IF "Freely elected representatives of the people":
"Would you agree to this (that the West German Government insist that only freely elected representatives of the people of the DDR be permitted to negotiate about a reunification of Germany) even if it meant that the reunification of Germany would not come about for the present, or would you not approve in that case?"

	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees
Yes, approve even then	74%	66%
No, don't approve in that case	15	16
No opinion	2	7
	91%	89%

EAST GERMANS, PARTICULARLY REFUGEES, BELIEVE WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT DOING ALL IT CAN FOR REUNIFICATION

While two-thirds of the East Zone visitors (66%) say that the Federal Republic is doing everything it can to achieve the reunification of all Germany, eight-tenths (80%) of the refugees express that much confidence in the West German Government.

"Do you have the impression that the West German Federal Government is doing everything it can to achieve the reunification of all Germany, or could it do more?"

	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees
Doing everything it can	66%	80%
Could do more (what?)	32	16
Not doing anything at all	-	-
No opinion	2	4
	100%	100%

COMMENTS ON WHAT ELSE WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT COULD DO

The comments which the East Germans gave as their ideas as to what else the West German Government could do to achieve reunification covered a number of fields. Most comments had to do either with negotiating with the East Zone Government or with making West Germany and the world aware of the way conditions really are under the Communists.

"Do you have the impression that the West German Federal Government is doing everything it can to achieve the reunification of all Germany, or could it do more?

IF 'Could do more': What?"

	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair (201)	East Zone Refugees Oct 1955 (200)
They should negotiate with the East Zone Government	8%	4%
"God knows we do not have any sympathy for our East Zone Government, but perhaps it would be wise to talk things over with them, for reunification is our main concern. To achieve this aim, no price will be too high."		
"They should go ahead and make promises. Let's pull off that reunification business first; afterwards there is plenty of time to find some loophole so that we can wriggle out of those pledges."		
"They should lower their demands. They shouldn't insist on the cancellation of the Oder-Neisse line any longer; then reunification could be achieved."		
"Reunification is a German concern. Even though the Bonn Government is opposed to Communism, just as we all are, it should negotiate with the DDR."		
They should describe the conditions in the East Zone to West Germans and the world	8	2
"They should try to sway the Allies by making them familiar with the conditions in the East Zone. All the world should know about that."		
"They should keep after the Western Powers and describe to them the economic hardships of the East Zone, and the pressure to which we are exposed and under which we suffer."		
"They should tell people in the West how things are in the East Zone. When I was in the Ruhr District recently I found that nobody there knew how things really are in the East Zone."		
"They should do more for the visitors from the East Zone, give them the feeling that they are still regarded as Germans. People in the West often treat us as if we were Russians and Communists."		

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(Cont'd from preceding page)	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees Oct 1955
They should negotiate more intensively with the Russians	4%	4%
"They should negotiate directly with the Russians, but an exchange of ambassadors must be the prerequisite for negotiations." "They should press the matter even more vigorously, I mean, they should negotiate even more intensively with the Russians."		
They should exert economic pressure on the East Zone	2	*
"They should no longer entertain trade relations with the DDR, thus forcing the government to give in." "They should exert economic pressure on the DDR by prohibiting shipments of any kind of goods to the East Zone."		
They should advocate free elections	1	*
"They should finally press for free elections."		
Other and general answers	7	5
"The present government should leave the scene and let other men do the job. Their successors might come to an agreement with the East." "They should stop making concessions to the old Nazis. The DDR Government profits from such doings and becomes less willing to negotiate on the reunification issue." "They talk too much. They should finally get down to brass tacks."		
No opinion/No answer	3	3
	33%@	18%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MAJORITY BELIEVE WESTERN POWERS DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE FOR REUNIFICATION

Again, with respect to this question (whether the Western Powers are doing all they can towards the reunification of Germany), the refugees are more favorable in their replies than is the case for the East Zone visitors. Almost two-thirds of the refugees (64%) but only about half of the East Zone visitors (55%) said that the Western Powers are doing everything that they can.

Comparison of these replies with those to the previous question, on whether the West German Government is doing all it can for reunification, shows that there is a more favorable attitude towards the West German Government than there is towards the Western Powers - although both are generally favorable. (Percentages saying the Federal Government was doing all it could were 80% and 66% among refugees and visitors.)

"And do you believe that the Western Powers are doing everything they can to achieve the reunification of all Germany, or could they do more?"

	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees
Doing everything they can	55%	64%
Could do more (what?)	39	23
Not doing anything at all	2	4
No opinion	4	9
	100%	100%

FIRMER MEASURES SOUGHT FROM WESTERN POWERS AS STEP TOWARDS REUNIFICATION

The suggestions offered by those people who thought that the Western Powers should do more than they are doing to effect the reunification of Germany largely emphasize various firm measures that they would like to have the West adopt in dealing with the Soviets. Some, of course, are already inherent parts of Western policy.

"And do you believe that the Western Powers are doing everything they can to achieve the reunification of all Germany, or could they do more?" (If could do more - what?)

Summary Table

	East Zone Visitors	Refugees
Firmer Measures	(24%)	(15%)
Firmer attitude in general	10	10
Apply economic pressure	9	5
Demand free elections	5	-
More Conciliatory Measures	(10%)	(4%)
Make concessions	5	2
Negotiate more often	3	2
Agree to neutralization	2	*
Other Answers	(3%)	(5%)
No Opinion	(5%)	(1%)
	(42%)@	(25%)@

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

COMMENTS IN DETAIL

"And do you believe that the Western Powers are doing everything they can to achieve the reunification of all Germany, or could they do more?

IF 'Could do more': What?"

	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair (201)	East Zone Refugees Oct 1955 (200)
Firmer Measures:	(24%)	(15%)
Adopt a firmer attitude toward Soviet Russia	10%	10%
"They should give up their unstable policy and adopt a firmer attitude. In any case they should strongly represent their Western standpoint."		
"Bring pressure to bear on Russia. Use strong military forces but without war. Only by Western strength can Russia be impressed."		
"They should be more consistent and shouldn't give in so often."		
Apply economic pressure	9	5
"Exert economic pressure, so that the Russians have to give in. Simply don't sell them any goods."		
"Apply economic pressure, in the way of a blockade. Any other means wouldn't get the Russians down on their knees."		
"Have a complete boycott - not a single ship transporting goods should take its way towards the East - neither to Russia, China, Turkey nor to Poland. That's the only way to beat the Russians."		
Demand free elections for all Germany	5	-
"They should demand that Russia induce the DDR Government to hold free elections, then the way towards reunification would be free."		
"They should keep on demanding free elections from the Russians - that's all I can say about it."		
"They shouldn't stick to the Potsdam agreement but should demand free elections."		

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees Oct 1955
More Conciliatory Measures:	(10%)	(4%)
They should improve their relations with Russia and make concessions	5%	2%
"They should establish closer personal contacts with Russian politicians." "Maintain friendly relations with the Russians. They should try to rectify the harm done by the Potsdam agreement." "They should take a more favorable attitude toward Russia's proposals. We in the DDR are always told that America's attitude is to blame for the frustration of all plans."		
Negotiate more frequently with the Russians	3	2
"The Allies should negotiate and raise the subject of Germany's reunification even more often." "It should be made clear to the Russians time and again that the present state of a divided Germany is, in the long run, unbearable."		
They should agree to the plan of a neutralized Germany	2	*
"They should agree to a neutralized Germany. If they had done so, we would have been reunited long ago." "They should insist on establishing a neutralized but rearmed Germany that wouldn't be allowed to conclude treaties."		
Other Answers:	(3%)	(5%)
"They should try to influence all UNO member states by propaganda with the aim of creating an atmosphere of understanding for our problems." "They could interpose between Bonn and Berlin so that really profitable talks between the two halves of Germany could be brought about."		
No opinion/No answer:	(5%) 42% @	(1%) 25% @

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Part III - Prestige

RUSSIAN PRESTIGE ESSENTIALLY UNCHANGED IN EAST GERMAN EYES

A majority of the East Zone visitors (56%) and seven out of ten refugees (70%) answered that, in their eyes, Russian prestige had not changed as a result of Adenauer's negotiations in Moscow.

The East Germans were even more reserved in this regard than the West German population. Not only did more East Germans say that nothing had changed than was the case among the West Germans (only 41% of the West German population said that), but fewer East Germans replied that Russian prestige had gone up in their opinion. Among West Germans 40% accorded Russia greater prestige, but only 34% of the visitors, and but 9% of the refugees gave such answers.

"As far as you followed the negotiations in Moscow, has Russia gained or lost prestige in your eyes through its actions at this conference, or has nothing changed in this respect?"

	West German General Population	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees
	Sept 1955 (797)	Sept/Oct 1955 (201)	Oct 1955 (200)
Gained substantially	9%	6%	2%
Gained somewhat	31	28	7
	40%	34%	9%
Nothing has changed	41	56	70
Lost somewhat	2	4	8
Lost substantially	1	6	9
No opinion	16	*	4
	100%	100%	100%

ADENAUER'S STATURE CONSIDERABLY ENHANCED WITH EAST GERMANS (MORE SO THAN AMONG WEST GERMANS)

While six out of ten West Germans (61%) felt that Adenauer had come out of the negotiations with greater prestige, more than eight out of ten East Germans (81% among the visitors and 84% among the refugees) thought that well of Adenauer.

"Has Adenauer gained or lost prestige in your eyes through his actions in Moscow, or has nothing changed in this respect?"

	West German General Population	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Visitors
	Sept 1955	Sept/Oct 1955	Oct 1955
Gained substantially	31%	57%	64%
Gained somewhat	30	24	20
	61%	81%	84%
Nothing has changed	26	15	11
Lost somewhat	1	2	1
Lost substantially	*	*	-
No opinion	12	2	4
	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Part IV - Future Issues

REUNIFICATION NOT EXPECTED FROM FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING

The current meeting of the foreign ministers of the Big Four is not generally expected to result in a reunification of Germany. More than six-tenths of the East Germans consider it unlikely that an agreement on the reunification of Germany will be reached by the foreign ministers of the U. S., England, France, and Russia. Only one person in twenty (5%) appears to have any real expectation along these lines.

> "As you may know, the foreign ministers of America, England, France and Russia will meet in October to discuss further the issues raised at Geneva, among other things, the German problem and questions of a European security.
>
> Do you consider it very likely, somewhat likely, or unlikely that the foreign ministers will reach an agreement on the question of a reunification of East and West Germany at this conference?"

	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees
Very likely	5%	6%
Somewhat likely	33	22
Unlikely	60	67
No opinion	2	5
	100%	100%

EAST AND WEST GERMANS AGREED ON REFUSAL TO BARTER ODER-NEISSE TERRITORIES FOR REUNIFICATION

As was found among the West German population, seven out of ten East Germans would also refuse to agree to a reunification of Germany through free elections if the price were renunciation of the Oder-Neisse territories.

> "Supposing Russia would demand as a condition for its agreeing to a reunification of Germany through free elections that Germany should recognize the Oder-Neisse line as the final Eastern frontier of Germany, thereby giving up the Eastern territories. Would you, under these circumstances, be rather for or against an immediate reunification?"

	West German General Population	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair	East Zone Refugees
	Sept 1955 (797)	Sept/Oct 1955 (201)	Oct 1955 (200)
For it	9%	27%	26%
Against it	68	72	71
No opinion	23	1	3
	100%	100%	100%

A P P E N D I X

Population Breaks

"Do you know whether the DDR-government, represented by Ulbricht and Grotewohl, recently carried on negotiations in Moscow?"

	Yes		No		Number of cases	
	I+	II@	I	II	I	II
All respondents	95%	68%	5%	32%	201	200
Sex:						
Men	96	87	4	13	141	117
Women	92	42	8	58	60	83
Education:						
Elementary school	91	64	9	36	110	159
Beyond elementary	99	88	1	12	91	41
Age:						
18 to 24 years	90	63	10	37	29	35
25 to 34 years	94	72	6	28	49	80
35 to 44 years	100	57	-	43	38	39
45 to 54 years	93	77	7	23	44	31
55 to 64 years	95	80	5	20	41	15
Occupation:						
Professionals	100	100	-	-	20	6
Businessmen	100	100	-	-	29	6
White-collar workers	100	80	-	20	37	51
Skilled laborers	97	80	3	20	38	54
Semi-skilled laborers	85	48	15	52	13	27
Farmers	71	71	29	29	14	17
Housewives	93	34	7	66	27	35
Not employed: pensioners; retired	92	100	8	-	23	4
Land:						
Brandenburg	97	66	3	34	30	44
Sachsen	93	72	7	28	67	50
Sachsen/Anhalt	98	74	2	26	47	50
Thueringen	94	67	6	33	33	21
Mecklenburg	92	60	8	40	24	35

\+ East Zone visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair.
@ East Zone refugees.

[redacted]

"Do you know whether the DDR-government, represented by Ulbricht and Grotewohl, recently carried on negotiations in Moscow?"

IF "Yes":
"From what you know about it, do you approve of the state treaty, or don't you?"

	Approve		Don't approve		No opinion		Not asked		Number of cases	
	I+	II@	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II
All respondents	7%	1%	73%	50%	15%	17%	5%	32%...100%	201	200
Sex:										
Men	7	2	76	68	13	17	4	13	141	117
Women	5	1	65	24	22	17	8	58	60	83
Education:										
Elementary school	5	2	70	45	16	17	9	36	110	159
Beyond elementary	9	-	76	71	14	17	1	12	91	41
Age:										
18 to 24 years	17	3	52	40	21	20	10	37	29	35
25 to 34 years	8	3	68	47	18	22	6	28	49	80
35 to 44 years	8	-	81	49	11	8	-	43	38	39
45 to 54 years	2	-	82	54	9	23	7	23	44	31
55 to 64 years	-	-	76	80	19	-	5	20	41	15
Occupation:										
Professionals	15	-	65	83	20	17	-	-	20	6
Businessmen	7	-	86	83	7	17	-	-	29	6
White-collar workers	3	-	92	55	5	25	-	20	37	51
Skilled laborers	3	2	80	59	14	19	3	20	38	54
Semi-skilled laborers	8	4	62	33	15	11	15	52	13	27
Farmers	14	-	50	65	7	6	29	29	14	17
Housewives	4	3	59	17	30	14	7	66	27	35
Not employed; pensioners; retired	8	-	56	100	28	-	8	-	23	4
Land:										
Brandenburg	3	-	77	52	17	14	3	34	30	44
Sachsen	9	2	73	54	11	16	7	28	67	50
Sachsen/Anhalt	4	4	73	50	21	20	2	26	47	50
Thueringen	9	-	67	43	18	24	6	33	33	21
Mecklenburg	4	-	75	46	13	14	8	40	24	35

\+ East Zone visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair

@ East Zone refugees

[redacted]

"As you probably know, an agreement has been reached in Moscow providing for the exchange of ambassadors between the governments of Russia and West Germany and for the repatriation of German prisoners still retained in Russia.

Should, in your opinion, the Bundestag - which has to vote on this issue - approve of an exchange of ambassadors between West Germany and Russia, or shouldn't it?"

	Yes, should approve		No, shouldn't approve		No opinion		Number of cases	
	I+	II@	I	II	I	II	I	II
All respondents	91%	82%	7%	8%	2%	10%..100%	201	200
Sex:								
Men	94	90	6	7	-	3	141	117
Women	83	70	12	10	5	20	60	83
Education:								
Elementary school	89	80	9	9	2	11	110	159
Beyond elementary	93	90	6	5	1	5	91	41
Age:								
18 to 24 years	97	82	-	9	3	9	29	35
25 to 34 years	100	82	-	10	-	8	49	80
35 to 44 years	95	85	5	5	-	10	38	39
45 to 54 years	81	81	14	3	5	16	44	31
55 to 64 years	83	74	17	13	-	13	41	15
Occupation:								
Professionals	90	83	10	-	-	17	20	6
Businessmen	90	100	10	-	-	-	29	6
White-collar workers	87	86	13	6	-	8	37	51
Skilled laborers	100	87	-	11	-	2	38	54
Semi-skilled laborers	100	85	-	11	-	4	13	27
Farmers	93	70	-	12	7	18	14	17
Housewives	78	71	15	-	7	29	27	35
Not employed; pensioners; retired	96	50	4	50	-	-	23	4
Land:								
Brandenburg	87	86	10	5	3	9	30	44
Sachsen	93	86	7	6	-	8	67	50
Sachsen/Anhalt	92	84	6	14	2	2	47	50
Thueringen	85	81	12	5	3	14	33	21
Mecklenburg	100	68	-	9	-	23	24	35

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"Do you think the Russians will really release all German prisoners still retained in Russia now, or don't you think so? (IF "Yes": Do you consider it likely or only slightly likely?) (IF "No": Do you consider it unlikely or don't you believe it at all?)"

	Yes, likely		Only slightly likely		No, unlikely, don't believe it at all		No opinion		Number of cases	
	I+	II@	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II
All respondents	39%	16%	11%	17%	50%	67%	*%	*%..100%	201	200
Sex:										
Men	45	14	7	18	47	68	1	-	141	117
Women	25	17	20	16	55	66	-	1	60	83
Education:										
Elementary school	34	14	12	16	53	69	1	1	110	159
Beyond elementary	45	17	10	19	45	64	-	-	91	41
Age:										
18 to 24 years	35	32	24	11	38	57	3	-	29	35
25 to 34 years	39	13	6	23	55	64	-	-	49	80
35 to 44 years	39	10	8	26	53	64	-	-	38	39
45 to 54 years	48	10	9	3	43	87	-	-	44	31
55 to 64 years	32	13	12	7	56	73	-	7	41	15
Occupation:										
Professionals	45	33	10	-	45	67	-	-	20	6
Businessmen	38	-	-	-	62	100	-	-	29	6
White-collar workers	40	14	11	16	49	70	-	-	37	51
Skilled laborers	39	15	14	28	47	57	-	-	38	54
Semi-skilled laborers	54	22	15	30	31	48	-	-	13	27
Farmers	36	18	14	6	50	76	-	-	14	17
Housewives	19	11	18	6	63	80	-	3	27	35
Not employed; pensioners; retired	48	-	8	-	40	100	4	-	23	4
Land:										
Brandenburg	20	14	20	7	60	77	-	2	30	44
Sachsen	34	18	10	18	56	64	-	-	67	50
Sachsen/ Anhalt	45	14	15	28	38	58	2	-	47	50
Thueringen	42	14	3	29	55	57	-	-	33	21
Mecklenburg	58	14	4	6	38	80	-	-	24	35

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* Less than one half of one per cent

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"Whose efforts have contributed more towards the impending release of the remaining German prisoners: The efforts of the West German Federal Government, or the efforts of the DDR?"

	West German Federal Government		DDR		Both equal efforts		Neither/ nor		No opinion		Number of cases	
	I+	II@	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II
All respondents	90%	97%	*%	-%	7%	1%	1%	*%	2%	2%..100%	201	200
Sex:												
Men	90	96	1	-	6	2	1	1	2	1	141	117
Women	90	98	-	-	8	-	2	-	-	2	60	83
Education:												
Elementary school	92	97	-	-	5	-	1	1	2	2	110	159
Beyond elementary	88	95	1	-	9	5	1	-	1	-	91	41
Age:												
18 to 24 years	83	88	-	-	14	3	-	3	3	6	29	35
25 to 34 years	94	99	-	-	2	1	4	-	-	-	49	80
35 to 44 years	84	97	3	-	8	-	-	-	5	3	38	39
45 to 54 years	95	100	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	44	31
55 to 64 years	90	100	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	41	15
Occupation:												
Professionals	90	100	-	-	5	-	5	-	-	-	20	6
Businessmen	100	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29	6
White-collar workers	89	100	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	37	51
Skilled laborers	89	98	-	-	8	2	3	-	-	-	38	54
Semi-skilled laborers	85	92	-	-	8	-	-	4	7	4	13	27
Farmers	86	100	7	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	14	17
Housewives	93	94	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	6	27	35
Not employed; pensioners; retired	84	75	-	-	12	25	-	-	4	-	23	4
Land:												
Brandenburg	93	100	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	30	44
Sachsen	92	96	-	-	6	4	1	-	1	-	67	50
Sachsen/Anhalt	89	96	-	-	9	-	-	2	2	2	47	50
Thueringen	94	95	-	-	3	-	3	-	-	5	33	21
Mecklenburg	79	97	4	-	13	-	-	-	4	3	24	35

* Less than one half of one per cent

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[redacted]

[redacted] CONFIDENTIAL

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"In your opinion, have the chances for an early reunification of Germany improved or worsened as a result of Adenauer's trip to Moscow?"

	Improved		Unchanged		Worsened		No opinion			Number of cases	
	I+	II@	I	II	I	II	I	II		I	II
All respondents	49%	44%	40%	45%	10%	6%	1%	5%	..100%	201	200
Sex:											
Men	49	48	42	46	8	5	1	1		141	117
Women	48	38	37	43	13	8	2	11		60	83
Education:											
Elementary school	55	41	36	46	8	7	1	6		110	159
Beyond elementray	43	54	45	42	11	2	1	2		91	41
Age:											
18 to 24 years	48	34	45	51	7	6	-	9		29	35
25 to 34 years	61	44	33	44	4	6	2	6		49	80
35 to 44 years	45	44	42	46	13	5	-	5		38	39
45 to 54 years	48	42	45	45	7	13	-	-		44	31
55 to 64 years	42	67	39	33	17	-	2	-		41	15
Occupation:											
Professionals	35	50	60	33	5	17	-	-		20	6
Businessmen	66	83	24	17	7	-	3	-		29	6
White-collar workers	60	49	24	35	16	12	-	4		37	51
Skilled laborers	50	46	36	48	11	4	3	2		38	54
Semi-skilled laborers	61	37	39	52	-	4	-	7		13	27
Farmers	43	24	50	70	7	-	-	6		14	17
Housewives	37	43	56	37	7	9	-	11		27	35
Not employed; pensioners; retired	36	-	52	100	12	-	-	-		23	4
Land:											
Brandenburg	60	55	27	36	13	9	-	-		30	44
Sachsen	45	32	39	54	13	10	3	4		67	50
Sachsen/Anhalt	44	52	45	42	11	-	-	6		47	50
Thueringen	48	47	52	43	-	5	-	5		33	21
Mecklenburg	59	31	37	49	4	9	-	11		24	35

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[redacted]

"Do you have the impression that Chancellor Adenauer did everything he could do in Moscow to bring about a reunification under conditions acceptable to us, or do you think he could have done more?"

	Did everything		Could have done more		No opinion		Number of cases	
	I+	II@	I	II	I	II	I	II
All respondents	86%	88%	11%	5%	3%	7%	..100%	201 200
Sex:								
Men	86	93	12	4	2	3	141	117
Women	87	83	10	5	3	12	60	83
Education:								
Elementary school	84	88	12	4	4	8	110	159
Beyond elementary	88	90	11	5	1	5	91	41
Age:								
18 to 24 years	97	88	3	3	-	9	29	35
25 to 34 years	78	89	18	6	4	5	49	[illegible]
35 to 44 years	86	87	11	3	3	10	38	39
45 to 54 years	86	84	9	6	5	10	44	31
55 to 64 years	88	100	12	-	-	-	41	15
Occupation:								
Professionals	85	100	15	-	-	-	20	6
Businessmen	90	83	7	-	3	17	29	6
White-collar workers	73	86	27	8	-	6	37	51
Skilled laborers	86	92	8	4	6	4	38	54
Semi-skilled laborers	92	96	-	4	8	-	13	27
Farmers	100	82	-	6	-	12	14	17
Housewives	85	80	11	3	4	17	27	35
Not employed; pensioners; retired	92	100	8	-	-	-	23	4
Land:								
Brandenburg	87	93	10	7	3	-	30	44
Sachsen	87	88	12	2	1	10	67	50
Sachsen/Anhalt	83	98	15	2	2	-	47	50
Thueringen	85	76	12	10	3	14	33	21
Mecklenburg	92	77	4	6	4	17	24	35

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"Which way, do you think, reunification is more likely to be achieved: Through negotiations between the West German Federal Government and the DDR, or through negotiations between the Western Powers and Russia?"

	Through negotiations between West German government and DDR		Through negotiations between Western Powers and Russia		No opinion		Number of cases	
	I+	II©	I	II	I	II	I	II
All respondents	18%	20%	78%	75%	4%	5%..100%	201	200
Sex:								
Men	18	15	80	81	2	4	141	117
Women	18	27	74	66	8	7	60	83
Education:								
Elementary school	16	23	78	71	6	6	110	159
Beyond elementary	21	5	78	90	1	5	91	41
Age:								
18 to 24 years	28	26	72	65	-	9	29	35
25 to 34 years	26	22	70	72	4	6	49	80
35 to 44 years	13	18	79	77	8	5	38	39
45 to 54 years	5	16	88	81	7	3	44	31
55 to 64 years	20	7	80	93	-	-	41	15
Occupation:								
Professionals	15	-	85	83	-	17	20	6
Businessmen	17	17	80	83	3	-	29	6
White-collar workers	27	10	70	86	3	4	37	51
Skilled laborers	17	19	83	79	-	2	38	54
Semi-skilled laborers	31	30	61	59	8	11	13	27
Farmers	14	18	86	70	-	12	14	17
Housewives	11	34	70	60	19	6	27	35
Not employed; pensioners; retired	12	100	88	-	-	-	23	4
Land:								
Brandenburg	17	16	73	77	10	7	30	44
Sachsen	9	22	87	76	4	2	67	50
Sachsen/Anhalt	19	20	77	78	4	2	47	50
Thueringen	24	19	76	71	-	10	33	21
Mecklenburg	33	20	67	69	-	11	24	35

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[redacted]

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"Would you approve of the DDR-government representing the people of the DDR in negotiations with the West German Federal government about a reunification of Germany - as stipulated in the state treaty -

or

should the West German government insist that only freely elected representatives of the people of the DDR be permitted to negotiate about a reunification of Germany?"

	Present government of DDR		Freely elected representatives of the people		No opinion		Number of cases	
	I+	II@	I	II	I	II	I	II
All respondents	9%	11%	91%	89%	*%	-%	100%	201	200
Sex:								
Men	11	9	89	91	-	-		141	117
Women	5	13	93	86	2	1		60	83
Education:								
Elementary school	8	11	92	88	-	1		110	159
Beyond elementary	10	12	89	88	1	-		91	41
Age:								
18 to 24 years	14	9	86	91	-	-		29	35
25 to 34 years	12	13	88	87	-	-		49	80
35 to 44 years	8	10	89	87	3	3		38	39
45 to 54 years	7	13	93	87	-	-		44	31
55 to 64 years	5	7	95	93	-	-		41	15
Occupation:								
Professionals	15	17	85	83	-	-		20	6
Businessmen	10	17	90	83	-	-		29	6
White-collar workers	11	14	89	86	-	-		37	51
Skilled laborers	8	4	92	96	-	-		38	54
Semi-skilled laborers	15	7	85	93	-	-		13	27
Farmers	-	6	100	94	-	-		14	17
Housewives	4	23	92	74	4	3		27	35
Not employed; pensioners; retired	8	-	92	100	-	-		23	4
Land:								
Brandenburg	3	18	97	82	-	-		30	44
Sachsen	14	10	86	90	-	-		67	50
Sachsen/Anhalt	6	4	92	96	2	-		47	50
Thueringen	12	14	88	81	-	5		33	21
Mecklenburg	4	11	96	89	-	-		24	35

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"Would you approve of the DDR-government representing the people of the DDR in negotiations with the West German Federal government about a reunification of Germany -

or

should the West German government insist that only freely elected representatives of the people of the DDR be permitted to negotiate about a reunification of Germany ?"

IF "Freely elected representatives of the people":
"Would you agree to this even if it meant that the reunification of Germany would not come about for the present, or would you not approve in that case?"

	Yes, approve even then		No, don't approve in that case		No opinion		Not asked		Number of cases	
	I+	II@	I	II	I	II	II	II	I	II
All respondents	74%	66%	15%	16%	2%	7%,.100%	9%	11%	201	200
Sex:										
Men	74	78	14	10	1	3	11	9	141	117
Women	70	50	18	24	5	12	7	14	60	83
Education:										
Elementary school	72	65	18	15	2	8	8	12	110	159
Beyond elementary	75	66	12	20	2	2	11	12	91	41
Age:										
18 to 24 years	55	56	31	26	-	9	14	9	29	35
25 to 34 years	70	66	18	15	-	6	12	13	49	80
35 to 44 years	79	64	10	15	-	8	11	13	38	39
45 to 54 years	86	71	-	10	7	6	7	13	44	31
55 to 64 years	71	80	22	13	2	-	5	7	41	15
Occupation:										
Professionals	75	66	10	17	-	-	15	17	20	6
Businessmen	66	50	17	33	7	-	10	17	29	6
White-collar workers	84	72	5	10	-	4	11	14	37	51
Skilled laborers	64	79	28	15	-	2	8	4	38	54
Semi-skilled laborers	77	48	8	26	-	19	15	7	13	27
Farmers	71	64	29	12	-	18	-	6	14	17
Housewives	74	48	11	20	7	6	8	26	27	35
Not employed; pensioners; retired	76	100	16	-	-	-	8	-	23	4
Land:										
Brandenburg	67	64	30	18	-	-	3	18	30	44
Sachsen	76	66	7	20	3	4	14	10	67	50
Sachsen/Anhalt	77	78	15	10	-	8	8	4	47	50
Thueringen	64	48	21	19	3	14	12	19	33	21
Mecklenburg	79	63	13	14	4	12	4	11	24	35

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"Do you have the impression that the West German Federal government is doing everything it can to achieve the re-unification of all Germany, or could it do more?"

	Doing everything it can		Could do more (what?)		Not doing anything at all		No opinion		Number of cases	
	I+	II@	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II
All respondents	66%	80%	32%	16%	*%	*%	2%	4%..100%	201	200
Sex:										
Men	65	79	34	17	-	-	1	4	141	117
Women	69	83	28	13	-	-	3	4	60	83
Education:										
Elementary school	70	83	26	13	-	-	4	4	110	159
Beyond elementary	62	71	38	27	-	-	-	2	91	41
Age:										
18 to 24 years	69	80	31	11	-	-	-	9	29	35
25 to 34 years	65	82	33	17	-	-	2	1	49	80
35 to 44 years	77	72	18	23	-	-	5	5	38	39
45 to 54 years	66	84	32	13	-	-	2	3	44	31
55 to 64 years	56	86	44	7	-	-	-	7	41	15
Occupation:										
Professionals	60	17	40	83	-	-	-	-	20	6
Businessmen	69	50	31	33	-	-	-	17	29	6
White-collar workers	57	82	43	16	-	-	-	2	37	51
Skilled laborers	67	89	30	9	-	-	3	2	38	54
Semi-skilled laborers	69	85	23	11	-	-	8	4	13	27
Farmers	93	76	7	12	-	-	-	12	14	17
Housewives	70	80	26	14	-	-	4	6	27	35
Not employed; pensioners; retired	60	75	36	25	-	-	4	-	23	4
Land:										
Brandenburg	67	70	33	25	-	-	-	5	30	44
Sachsen	56	86	40	10	-	-	4	4	67	50
Sachsen/ Anhalt	68	88	30	10	-	-	2	2	47	50
Thueringen	73	90	27	10	-	-	-	-	33	21
Mecklenburg	83	68	17	23	-	-	-	9	24	35

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"And do you believe that the Western Powers are doing everthing they could to achieve the reunification of all-Germany, or could they do more?"

	Doing everything they could		Could do more		Not doing anything at all		No opinion		Number of cases	
	I+	II@	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II
All respondents	55%	64%	39%	23%	2%	4%	4%	9%	...100%	201 200
Sex:										
Men	49	60	46	28	2	3	3	9	141	117
Women	70	70	21	15	2	5	7	10	60	83
Education:										
Elementary school	59	69	34	18	2	5	5	8	110	159
Beyond elementary	51	46	44	42	2	-	3	12	91	41
Age:										
18 to 24 years	55	66	28	17	7	6	10	11	29	35
25 to 34 years	55	62	41	24	-	5	4	9	49	80
35 to 44 years	50	59	44	25	3	3	3	13	38	39
45 to 54 years	57	62	39	29	2	3	2	6	44	31
55 to 64 years	59	87	39	13	-	-	2	-	41	15
Occupation:										
Professionals	35	17	65	83	-	-	-	-	20	6
Businessmen	35	50	62	50	3	-	-	-	29	6
White-collar workers	56	67	38	21	3	4	3	8	37	51
Skilled laborers	47	53	44	26	3	4	6	17	38	54
Semi-skilled laborers	54	74	31	22	-	4	15	-	13	27
Farmers	79	76	14	12	-	6	7	6	14	17
Housewives	78	74	15	9	-	6	7	11	27	35
Not employed; pensioners; retired	68	50	28	50	4	-	-	-	23	4
Land:										
Brandenburg	44	71	53	20	3	2	-	7	30	44
Sachsen	54	54	37	28	2	4	7	14	67	50
Sachsen/Anhalt	66	64	28	24	2	6	4	6	47	50
Thueringen	46	66	51	24	-	-	3	10	33	21
Mecklenburg	67	68	29	17	4	6	-	9	24	35

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"As far as you followed the negotiations in Moscow, has Russia gained or lost prestige in your eyes through its actions at this conference, or has nothing changed in this respect?"

	Gained prestige		Nothing has changed		Lost prestige		No opinion			Number of cases	
	I+	II@	I	II	I	II	I	II		I	II
All respondents	34%	9%	56%	70%	10%	17%	*%	4%	..100%	201	200
Sex:											
Men	33	9	54	74	13	17	-	-		141	117
Women	35	8	60	64	3	18	2	10		60	83
Education:											
Elementary school	32	9	53	68	14	19	1	4		110	159
Beyond elementary	36	7	58	81	6	10	-	2		91	41
Age:											
18 to 24 years	35	6	52	77	10	11	3	6		29	35
25 to 34 years	31	8	51	71	18	17	-	4		49	80
35 to 44 years	47	10	40	67	13	15	-	8		38	39
45 to 54 years	36	13	55	58	9	29	-	--		44	31
55 to 64 years	22	7	78	86	-	7	-	-		41	15
Occupation:											
Professionals	45	33	45	67	10	-	-	-		20	6
Businessman	42	-	34	83	24	17	-	-		29	6
White-collar workers	32	10	65	72	3	18	-	-		37	51
Skilled laborers	22	11	56	68	19	15	3	6		38	54
Semi-skilled laborers	23	-	69	70	8	26	-	4		13	27
Farmers	43	-	50	71	7	29	-	-		14	17
Housewives	37	11	59	63	4	14	-	12		27	35
Not employed; pensioners; retired	32	-	64	100	4	-	-	-		23	4
Land:											
Brandenburg	40	14	57	63	3	18	-	5		30	44
Sachsen	31	10	62	64	7	22	-	4		67	50
Sachsen/Anhalt	30	2	55	78	13	20	2	-		47	50
Thueringen	24	14	58	71	18	5	-	10		33	21
Mecklenburg	54	6	33	74	13	14	-	6		24	35

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"Has Adenauer gained or lost prestige in your eyes through his actions in Moscow, or has nothing changed in this respect?"

All	Gained prestige		Nothing has changed		Lost prestige		No opinion		Number of cases	
	I+	II@	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II
All respondents	81%	84%	15%	11%	2%	1%	2%	4%...100%	201	200
Sex:										
Men	81	86	14	12	4	2	1	-	141	117
Women	82	81	15	10	-	-	3	9	60	83
Education:										
Elementary school	78	82	15	12	4	1	3	5	110	159
Beyond elementary	85	90	13	10	1	-	1	-	91	41
Age:										
18 to 24 years	86	86	10	11	-	-	4	3	29	35
25 to 34 years	86	86	12	8	-	-	2	6	49	80
35 to 44 years	84	72	13	23	-	-	3	5	38	39
45 to 54 years	77	94	14	3	7	3	2	-	44	31
55 to 64 years	73	80	22	13	5	7	-	-	41	15
Occupation:										
Professionals	95	67	5	33	-	-	-	-	20	6
Businessmen	76	100	10	-	10	-	4	-	29	6
White-collar workers	78	92	19	6	3	2	-	-	37	51
Skilled laborers	89	87	8	9	3	-	-	4	38	54
Semi-skilled laborers	77	74	15	22	-	-	8	4	13	27
Farmers	93	65	-	24	-	5	7	6	14	17
Housewives	67	83	30	6	-	-	3	11	27	35
Not employed; pensioners; retired	80	100	20	-	-	-	-	-	23	4
Land:										
Brandenburg	83	89	17	9	-	2	-	-	30	44
Sachsen	81	86	16	8	3	2	-	4	67	50
Sachsen/Anhalt	76	86	15	8	2	-	7	6	47	50
Thueringen	79	81	15	14	6	-	-	5	33	21
Mecklenburg	91	74	4	20	-	-	5	6	24	35

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"As you may know the foreign ministers of America, England, France and Russia will meet again in October to discuss further the issues raised at Geneva - among other things, the German problem and questions of a European security.
Do you consider it very likely, somewhat likely, or unlikely that the foreign ministers will reach an agreement on the question of a reunification of East and West Germany at this conference?"

	Very likely		Somewhat likely		Unlikely		No opinion		Number of cases	
	I+	II@	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II
All respondents	5%	6%	33%	22%	60%	67%	2%	5%...100%	201	200
Sex:										
Men	6	3	33	22	60	73	1	2	141	117
Women	3	8	33	23	62	61	2	8	60	83
Education:										
Elementary school	6	7	33	23	58	65	3	5	110	159
Beyond elementary	4	-	33	22	63	76	-	2	91	41
Age:										
18 to 24 years	-	9	45	29	55	51	-	11	29	35
25 to 34 years	4	5	33	22	59	69	4	4	49	80
35 to 44 years	11	5	18	20	68	72	3	3	38	39
45 to 54 years	9	3	43	20	48	74	-	3	44	31
55 to 64 years	2	7	27	27	71	66	-	-	41	15
Occupation:										
Professionals	5	-	15	33	80	67	-	-	20	6
Businessmen	14	-	31	17	55	83	-	-	29	6
White-collar workers	3	4	43	20	54	74	-	2	37	51
Skilled laborers	6	6	22	22	69	68	3	4	38	54
Semi-skilled laborers	8	4	31	30	54	62	7	4	13	27
Farmers	-	6	43	18	50	59	7	17	14	17
Housewives	4	11	30	23	66	60	-	6	27	35
Not employed; pensioners; retired	4	-	48	25	48	75	-	-	23	4
Land:										
Brandenburg	-	11	33	34	67	55	-	-	30	44
Sachsen	7	6	37	18	54	70	2	6	67	50
Sachsen/Anhalt	8	4	28	26	60	66	4	4	47	50
Thueringen	3	-	27	29	70	66	-	5	33	21
Mecklenburg	4	3	38	6	58	83	-	8	24	35

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"Supposing Russia would demand as a condition for its agreeing to a reunification of Germany through free elections that Germany should recognize the Oder/Neisse line as the final Eastern frontier of Germany, thereby giving up the Eastern territories. Would you under these circumstances, be rather for or rather against an immediate reunification?"

	For it		Against it		No opinion		Number of cases	
	I+	II@	I	II	I	II	I	II
All respondents	27%	26%	72%	71%	1%	3%...100%	201	200
Sex:								
Men	29	20	64	79	7	1	141	117
Women	22	35	75	59	3	6	60	83
Education:								
Elementary school	25	23	75	74	-	3	110	159
Beyond elementary	29	37	68	61	3	2	91	41
Age:								
18 to 24 years	24	37	76	60	-	3	29	35
25 to 34 years	37	21	63	75	-	4	49	80
35 to 44 years	31	26	66	69	3	5	38	39
45 to 54 years	14	29	84	71	2	-	44	31
55 to 64 years	27	27	71	73	2	-	41	15
Occupation:								
Professionals	45	50	55	50	-	-	20	6
Businessmen	38	33	59	67	3	-	29	6
White-collar workers	30	25	70	73	-	2	37	51
Skilled laborers	31	20	69	76	-	4	38	54
Semi-skilled laborers	38	41	62	59	-	-	13	27
Farmers	14	6	86	94	-	-	14	17
Housewives	4	31	89	60	7	9	27	35
Not employed: pensioners; retired	16	-	84	100	-	-	23	4
Land:								
Brandenburg	27	32	73	63	-	5	30	44
Sachsen	30	30	69	70	1	-	67	50
Sachsen/Anhalt	28	18	70	80	2	2	47	50
Thueringen	30	38	70	62	-	-	33	21
Mecklenburg	12	17	84	74	4	9	24	35

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